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[Facing p. 66(B)]

a. BLACK WOLF, CHIEF OF THE WINNEBAGO VILLAGE AT BLACK WOLF POINT, LAKE WINNEBAGO, 1827

(From Lewis's Aboriginal Portfolio)

b. FOUR LEGS, CHIEF
VILLAGE ON D

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OF THE WINNEBAGO
TY ISLAND, 1927

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CHAPTER VI

WARFARE AND THE COUNCIL LODGE

Warfare

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[183] War was one of the most important elements in the life of the Winnebago. The life of the warrior was the ideal toward which all men strove. It not only satisfied certain emotional needs but it [534] was so inextricably interwoven with social standing in the community and with individual prestige that Winnebago life is unthinkable without it. It is not surprising, then, that the prayer for [782] success on the warpath was the most important prayer that men offered up to the spirits and that it was reechoed in almost all the ceremonies. (Pls. 43, 44, 45.)

An element of culture fraught with so much significance to the individual and the social group was bound to be surrounded by innumerable customs, regulations, and restrictions. It was a life that was at stake every time an individual went on the warpath, and remembering the value of each life to a small community, it is not to be wondered at if there is a definite attempt on the part of the social group to restrict individual activity in this particular regard. An individual might go on the warpath either alone or in company with a few people, but the community, in the person of the chief, insisted that he show some warrant for his action. If no warrant of [626] any kind could be given, he subjected himself to the only restrictive measures the chief and the community could adopt, disapproval, jeers, and temporary loss of social standing and prestige. So much, as far as his own person was concerned. If his action jeopardized [636] the life or lives of other members of the tribe he had then to face the relatives of these people, just as any individual who had committed some wrong. It is hardly likely that many men would willingly run any risks of unnecessarily antagonizing their fellow tribesmen when the proper means of preparing for the warpath was open to all. A careful perusal of the system of education given on page 166 makes it clear that a sufficiently large number of methods for obtaining consent to lead a party were given, and that it was possible for every male individual to go on the warpath frequently if he so desired. Certain requirements were, however, necessary. It was not left to each individual to decide for himself [622] whether he possessed these, but the final decision always lay in the hands of the chief.

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727 etc. Then the war leader would secretly tell some one to select a stake (for the Victory Dance) and after a short time all the members of the war party would rush in and march around the entire village striking the scalps that they had tied to sticks. Then they would all go to the place where the stake had been put up and there they would distribute the war prizes to the sisters of the men who had won them and the women would walk around proudly with the prizes around their necks. Then, in the daytime 701 they would dance the Victory Dance and in the evening they would dance the 721 Hok'izere Dance for four nights.

[115] *Description of a war party.*—Informant, member of the Thunderbird clan.

[787] If a man wishes to go on the warpath he must fast and be blessed by the spirits in a specific manner. If a man is thus blessed, he gives a feast and announces his intention of leading a war party. The chief always has a representative at such a feast (a member of the Buffalo clan), and as soon as it is over this man goes to the former and reports to him. [622] If the chief thinks that the blessing is insufficient and might cause the death of many men he takes the war leader's pipe and lays it across his path and the war leader is then compelled to abandon his undertaking. This action on the part of the chief is sacred and must be accepted as final. The war leader dare not step across the pipe. Should the chief, however, not do this, then the war leader knew that there was no objection. Usually some members of every clan go along, but especially members of the Thunderbird, Warrior, and Bear clans.

The action of the war leader is controlled by many rules. He must be the one who has fasted and been blessed with all that is essential for conducting a war party. He must have his food provided for him by the spirits, know the exact location of the enemy, their numbers, and their sex.

726 After the war party has traveled for about four days, the men offer tobacco to the 701 leader and he tells them where he is going, the number of the enemy, etc. If, after that, any of the members of the war party do not approve of the undertaking then they place a pipe across his path and the war leader is compelled to return. If nothing is said, then all is well. The war leader always goes ahead of his party and his attendants behind him, followed by the other members of the party. Whenever the chief stops his attendants run to his side, take his war bundle and place it in front of him. Then the leader sits down, neither turning to the right nor to the left but looking straight ahead. The attendants get two poles and place them on each side of him, bend the ends over to form an arch, on each side of which are placed small oak sticks arranged in a row. Under this structure the war leader stays. Here he sleeps and is [614] fed by his attendants. No one is permitted to go ahead of this improvised structure. On each side of him two fireplaces are placed, two for the Upper clans and two for the Lower clans. If the war party is traveling westward the two fireplaces on the north side belong to the Lower clans and the two on the south side to the Upper clans. If a man is going on a warpath for the first time, he stays in the rear of the party and has a little fire of his own. He remains in the rear in this way until the battle begins. Then he joins the others.

A member of the Warrior clan is selected by the war leader to act as guard and he goes back and forth behind him encouraging the men and telling them not to steal away alone or go too far ahead of the party, since that always results in the loss of life. It is for this reason that it is not considered correct for a man to try and steal away and perhaps obtain a war honor in this selfish manner. Whenever the war leader stops he tells his companions what they must do in order to obtain food, all this information having been provided for in his blessing. If he tells some one to go to a certain place and kill a deer, he is certain to find a deer at the place specified. Whenever the war leader gets up and steps over his war bundle the attendants come and place his war [782] bundle on his back and he then proceeds on his march, followed by the other members of the party. Whenever he comes to a river he takes some of the tobacco which is

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the warpath.[1] So they say. If you do not become an individual warranted to lead a war party, yet mistaking yourself for one although really an ordinary warrior, you "throw away a man," your act will be considered most disgraceful. A mourner might harm you in revenge for the fact that you have caused him to mourn, and burn you with embers. Your people will all be sad, both on account of your disgrace and on account of the pain inflicted upon you.

My son, not with the blessing of one of the spirits merely, nor with the blessing of twenty, for that matter, can you go on the warpath. You must have the blessing of all the spirits above the earth, and of all those on the earth, and of all those who are pierced through the earth;[2] of all those under the earth; of all those who are under the water; of all those that are on the sides of the earth, i. e., all the four winds; of the Disease-giver;[3] of the Sun; of the Daylight;[4] of the Moon; of the Earth; and of all those who are in control of war powers—with the blessings of all these deities must you be provided before you can lead a successful war party.

My son, if you cast off dress[5] men will be benefited by your deeds. You will be an aid to all your people. If your people honor you, it will be good. And they will like you even the more if you obtain a

[1] Among the Winnebago any individual who has been blessed with the necessary powers to lead a warpath may do so, but it is absolutely essential that his blessing discreting him be of such a nature that every possible contingency is included therein. Such complete blessings are, of course, not common nor can they be obtained except through unusual exertions. If you are blessed with just the ordinary or incomplete war powers and you nevertheless undertake to lead a war party, you may either be defeated or perhaps only partially successful, and, what is worse, you may lose some of the warriors who started with you. Your recklessness has thus caused the death of some of your fellow tribesmen. It is understood that every warrior before starting on the warpath turn his "blessing" over to the chief of the tribe for examination, and if the chief considers it complete the warrior is not held responsible for the lack of success or loss of life. If the chief does not consider an individual's blessing sufficient to justify the object he has in view and forbids the warrior to go, and if the latter nevertheless goes, or grants the case he does not even submit his "blessing" to the chief for scrutiny, and mutiny ensues, then he is held directly responsible for any mishap on the warpath. The relatives of any individual thus killed may hold the war leader responsible and demand compensation, or, as is indicated by ll. 4 to 6 here later, a mourner (i. e., one who has been placed in mourning by the criminal foolhardiness of the war leader) might attack, perhaps kill him, without being held guilty of any crime. It must of course be understood that such occurrences would seldom take place. We must, however, remember throughout these "teachings" that one of the objects of the old men was to draw the most alluring pictures of the rewards that would fall to the lot of those who followed in the footsteps of their ancestors, and, on the other hand, to draw the most lurid pictures of the wretchedness that befell those who deviated, no matter in what details, from the customs sanctioned by use.

[2] According to the Winnebago creation myth, when Earthmaker, the creator of the earth, first came to consciousness and began creating life the earth on which we were to live was in continual motion, and nothing that the former could do seemed to be able to stop it. From above he threw down grass, trees, etc., but all was of no avail. Finally he hit upon the happy expedient of pinning the earth down at the four corners by means of four enormous snakes, or, as some say, by means of four mythical animals known as water spirits. It is to these that the old man is referring here. According to the story, even these were of no avail, and it was only when he finally placed four mythical beings known as "Island Weights" at the four corners that our planet stopped spinning. These "Island Weights" seem to be identical with the spirits of the four cardinal points, but they are not to be confused with the four winds mentioned later.

[3] A deity conceived of as dealing out life-giving powers from one half of his body and death-dealing powers from the other half. He is also supposed to disseminate disease. Disease-giver is a literal translation of the Winnebago word, but this probably does not convey the exact meaning. There seems to be no parallel to this peculiar deity among the other Siouan tribes or among the Algonquins.

[4] Daylight or light is conceived of as something different and distinct from the sun.

[5] That is, if you give away things frequently, especially to your people.

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political function as upon anything else. The exact time when this socialization took place is of no great import here. Among the Winnebago, for instance, some individuals claim that the functions of the public crier were inherent in the Buffalo clan, while others insist that any person who had counted coup four times was eligible for the office. Now, in this case not only is it possible but it is extremely probable that the office of public crier was originally connected with an individual, and that subsequently it became associated with the Buffalo clan, probably by reason of a certain relationship existing between this clan and the Chief clan. It must, of course, be remembered that a grouping had already taken place, because the requirement of having counted coup four times made a large number of warriors potentially public criers. Its association with membership in the Buffalo clan represented, on the one hand, a restriction of the number of individuals, and on the other hand, the addition of another qualification. Historically, then, the qualification of membership in the clan supplanted the other qualifications, at least in the eyes of a number of individuals. What has been said of the development of the functions of the Buffalo may also be generally applied to the Warrior or Hawk clan.

Political functions may, however, become connected with a group unit without the individual playing any rôle either in directing or in developing it. The functions of preserving peace and of acting as intermediary, that among the Winnebago are connected with the Thunderbird clan, and the police and disciplinary functions connected with the Bear clan, may represent such types of association. In the absence of historical data, no demonstration can be made. It will, however, be shown later that association of ceremonial-religious functions with a social unit has actually occurred. That the police and disciplinary functions of the Bear clan developed from functions of individuals, on the basis of requirements similar to those of the public crier, is quite improbable, and no indication of that exists. Similarly the functions of the Thunderbird clan do not lend themselves readily to such an interpretation. But even should we accept the necessity for the priority of the one over the other types of association, we must still insist that psychologically the functions are in each case associated with a group unit.

Four of the Winnebago clans have specific political functions the details of which are discussed elsewhere. The Thunderbird, the chief clan, and in addition to the fact that the chief of the tribe is selected from it, has important functions connected with the preservation of peace; the Warrior clan has functions connected with war; the Bear clan, those relating to policing and discipline, both within the village and while on the hunt, etc.; and the Buffalo clan, those relating to the office of public crier and intermediary between the

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From these facts it is quite clear that, as far as the Thunderbird clan is concerned, the prevailing belief as to the relation of the members of the clan to the clan ancestor is but feebly substantiated by the origin myths.

As mentioned before, the chief of the tribe was selected from the Thunderbird clan, although the selection was apparently restricted to certain families. The functions of the chief of the tribe were connected with peace. He could not lead a war party, although, according to some, he could accompany one. His lodge stood either in the center of the village or at the south end, according to which of the two descriptions one cares to accept, and contained a sacred fireplace, around which only members of the Thunderbird clan could sit. This lodge was an asylum for all wrongdoers. No one could be killed there, and a prisoner who succeeded in making his escape to it was spared. Even a dog destined for a sacrifice at the war-bundle feast was freed if he took refuge in it. The Thunderbird chief always acted as intercessor between wrongdoers and their avengers. Even in so extreme a case as the murder of a clansman, he would always attempt a reconciliation by which the life of the murderer might be spared. If necessary, the chief would mortify himself, and with skewers inserted in his back have himself led through the village to the home of the nearest kinspeople of the murdered person.

The chief seems to have had some other miscellaneous functions, the most important of which was, perhaps, his right to prevent an unauthorized war party to depart from the village. If he, as an older man and guardian of peace and the best interests of the tribe, felt that a war party was taking too many risks, he would take his pipe and place it across the path of the one contemplating an unwarranted expedition and thus signify his disapproval. If then the war party chose to go, any mishap was directly chargeable to the leader who disobeyed. Should anyone be killed, the leader was regarded almost in the same light as a willful murderer, and the kinsmen of the deceased warrior could demand redress.

Our main informant for the Thunderbird clan summarized the functions as follows:

> The chief is chosen from one of the "greater" Thunderbird clans[1] and must be a man of well balanced temper, not easily provoked, and of good habits. The one sacred object he possesses is his pipe. He must be a peacemaker and love all the people in the tribe, the little children included.
>
> If he saw a man, woman, or child passing by, he was to call them in and give them food to eat, for they were his brothers and sisters. All the relatives he has are to look after his possessions and keep him well supplied, for he was supposed to give away things constantly. If any person came to borrow some object from him, he would tell

[1] He divided the Thunderbird clans into two groups, the real Thunderbird and the Warrior clans. This latter he indeed was identical with the Upperworld who caused the rain and who were quite different from the other Thunderbirds.

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622 614 the man that, since he was without this particular thing, to keep it and use it for all time.

[203 624 623] The public crier, a member of the Buffalo clan, was supposed to report to the chief early every morning and receive instructions. The crier would then go all around the village making the chief's desires known.

The chief had a representative at every council, generally his brother.

The chief of the village is a peacemaker, and if two members of the tribe ever get into difficulties (i. e., quarrel) he is supposed to intercede. If in a quarrel a person should be killed, the chief would go to the murderer and tell the latter to permit himself to be tied up (i. e., to give himself up to the relatives of the murdered man). If [682] the murderer consents to do so, then his arms are tied behind him and the chief walks in front of him carrying his sacred pipe. Thus they would go to the lodge of the murdered man's relatives. When they got there the chief would extend the stem of the pipe toward them. They might refuse to accept the pipe thus extended, but if any member of the family, even if it be a small child, were to take a puff from it, then the murderer would be forgiven and turned free.

This is the capacity of a Winnebago chief.

622 614 682 Another description of the chief's rôle as intercessor for a murderer is as follows:

When the Thunderbird chief wishes to save a murderer they take one of their own chiefs, one who is well beloved, paint his back blue, and put shavers in his back, to which they tie cords. Thus he is taken to the lodge of the murdered person's relatives. The chief, when he gets there, holds his pipe of tobacco in both hands. Should the relations not wish to accept the peace offering they close the door in his face. Then he returns.

614 778 [411] The Thunderbird clan possessed a type of war club called a bald-headed war club, which was sacred to this clan alone, and a miniature of which was always buried with a dead body. The only other possessions were the clan war bundles. The Winnebago often speak as though each clan had but one of these palladiums, but there seems to be little doubt but that there were at least two and probably more in each clan. These war bundles must be regarded as the common possession of the clan at the present time, for they can not be alienated from the clan.[1] For all practical purposes, however, they are the private property of certain individuals or families.

614 372 Fire was considered a sacred possession of the Thunderbird clan. As mentioned before, an individual was supposed never to ask for a firebrand from the fire of any member of the clan and was never permitted to sit near such a fireplace. If, nevertheless, anyone should be immodest enough to ask for one of these objects, he would be refused, but he would be permitted to ask for any conceivable thing else. The following incident will serve as an example of the 685 definite way in which this peculiar custom works. An old Winne-

[1] This point was very forcibly impressed upon the author when he tried to obtain the war bundle of a man who had become a member of the Peyote cult. The man was perfectly willing to part with it, but after repeated requests to those who happened to possess it at that particular time, he admitted that it belonged to the clan, although they could not have taken it away from him had he remained a believer in the old faith.

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the matter. If, on the other hand, he submitted to whatever punishment the Bear clansmen inflicted on him without resistance and apologized to them, then they would build him a new lodge and supply it with better goods than those which they had been compelled to destroy. 614 625

This is the way in which the soldiers act when they are on duty. They never jest and their word is a command. If it is not immediately obeyed, their next move is to punish. For that reason one generally listens to them and their commands. When they are not on duty they are the same as other people. Different members of the tribe are on duty at different times, for the leader changes them about frequently.

If a field of rice is found in some swamp or lake the Bear clan people are informed and they go over and keep watch over it and give every person an equal chance at picking it. If a person sneaks away and takes advantage of the others, the Bear clan people punish him. [222 262 685]

The Bear clansmen guard the village almost all the time. When a council is held they guard the council lodge, and when a person is tried for some crime, particularly that of murder, a trial which generally takes place in the Thunderbird clan lodge, then they carefully guard this lodge, lest the prisoner try to escape or his relatives or confederates try to rescue him. [623 692 682]

Certain actions and remarks are not permitted in the Bear clan lodge. They are the following: 614 625 784

To peep into the lodge.

To make the remark that they live in a nice lodge.

To sit in the doorway.

To give a deep sigh or snort inside the lodge.

Should any person do one of these forbidden things, the Bear clansmen would be compelled to give the most valued thing in the lodge to the offender.

If a man seduced a woman, he was brought to the lodge of the Bear clan and severely whipped. If the soldier whipped him too severely, he in turn was whipped. 614 625 784

If a murderer was brought to the Bear clan lodge and the chief of the tribe asked that the man be freed, the rest of the tribe would beg the relatives of the murdered man to relent; but if the murderer was turned over to the soldiers, they would take him to the lodge of the murdered man's relatives and let one of them kill him. [622 682]

According to one informant, the Deer clansmen acted as servants to the Bear clan. 614

The Bear and the Wolf clans are friends, and although, as we indicated on page 201, each clan is paired off with another, the relationship of the Bear and Wolf clans is particularly intimate. It was even claimed that a Bear clansman would revenge the death of a Wolf clansman. For no other clans did the author hear this statement made. The women are addressed by the men and by each other as "my opposite," referring unquestionably to the positions in [551]

the council lodge.

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Hirdjaxgga.....White-faced.
Hirdjadjagga.....Four-eyed.
Hi'p'ixiga.....Cloud-haired.
Hi'ixga.....Blue-faced.
Huninaxk'a.....She who sits howling.
Haxkdjagga.....Four walking.
Haxaxk'ga.....Throws up the earth (with his hind legs).
Ha'xk'aratraninaxk'a.....He who sits on the tree limbs.
Nindjahaga.....Coming from the water.
Nindjawaxk'iriga.....He who brings them back from the water.
P'aixga.....Green forehead.
P'a-axgga.....He who has a white forehead
P'ê'naxkga.....Big canal person.
Xa'aratraninaxk'a.....He who sits on a bare hill.
Xa-anik'a.....He who dwells in a hill.
Xa-axiraga.....He who travels to the hill.
Xixiraga.....Bushy tail.
Traxwiga.....He who holds a deer in his mouth.
Traxiraxiga.....He who carries deer-lard in his mouth.
Traxaxkakdgga.....Chief wolf.
Traxaxkaixwaxiggs.....First wolf.
Traxaninaxk'a.....Sits as a leader.
Waxaxiaga.....He from whom nothing is hidden.
Waxaxixiraga.....He who carries something in his mouth.
Waxaxigiga.....Comes back with something in his mouth.
Waxaxawiga.....She who chews.
Wixap'aga.....He who lies in wait for them.

The Water-Spirit Clan

614

Introduction

A rather poor version of the Water-spirit clan was obtained. It is, however, one of the few clan origin myths that contains the definite statement that the clan ancestors changed into human beings when they gathered at Green Bay. [173]

The functions of the Water-spirit clan were, in former times, exceedingly important. Almost all the informants were agreed that a chief was selected from that clan, but the exact nature of this chieftainship is not clear. [622] One informant, himself a member of the Bear clan, said that the Water-spirit clan was the chief of the lower phratry; that the clans were arranged in three groups, one over which the Thunderbird clan ruled; another over which the Water-spirit clan ruled; and a third over which the Bear clan ruled. He insisted, however, that just as the Thunderbird clan rules over the whole tribe in a general way, so the Water-spirit clan ruled over the clans of the lower phratry. Other informants claimed that the Water-spirit clan originally ruled over the entire tribe and that its place was subsequently usurped by the Thunderbird clan. [554] It might be best to regard the function of the Water-spirit clan as akin but subsidiary to that of the Thunderbird clan.

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they gave one another. Thus they have the names *White-hair*, *Fast-one*, *Little-white-teeth*, *Diffident-one*, *Horn*, *Pronged-horn*, etc.; and for dogs they have names also. That is the way the deer people lived in the beginning at Red Banks, Within Lake. Bands of people gathered together there, and all the clans that exist now originated there.

539 776 614

SECOND VERSION (TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)

The Deer clan people came up at the beginning of the earth. Only one is spoken of as appearing at the beginning. He started forth but returned again that he might look for a companion. For that reason a name exists in the tribe, *He-who-comes-back*, and another is *He-who-appears-first*. After they had appeared on earth the deer blew on the original fire, which was only smoldering, and made it blaze up. For that reason they claim a partial chieftainship. The first one that appeared had a chief's medal around his neck.

[551]

614

CLAN SONG.

533

I use the cries of the four directions.
I use the cries of the four directions.
I use the cries of the four directions.
I use the cries of the four directions.

CLAN NAMES

WA HIN'IN'ARADJERA (DEER CLAN)

614

Teraephôgk'a	Black deer chief.
Wagizena'pi'ga	Wears shells around neck.
Teranôkra'pi'ewings	Deer vagina.
Mank'ingewegee	Appears in the middle of earth
Teratcuniwings	First deer woman.

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THE ELK CLAN

INTRODUCTION

In the Elk clan origin myth we find the clear statement that Earth-maker created the ancestors of the clan, and that they were human beings. The myth resembles a village origin myth more than it does a clan origin myth.

614 [773 776]

The Elk clan seems to have had certain functions relative to the distribution of fire through the village and in camp. It was never a very large clan.

The Elk people claim half of the fire, and thus half of the chieftainship. They never hold fire toward any one.

[372] [622]

Elks are buried by the Snake, Water-spirit, and Eagle clans, although the first has the preference.

[764]

White clay is used in painting the dead.

According to another informant, the facial painting consisted of white and blue dots on the face (pl. 46).

[502]

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unsatisfactory. Apparently his statement is based upon the occurrence of four mythical ancestors. The similarity of the Winnebago social organization with that of the Dhegiha and Tciwere branches of the Siouan family, in which subclans seem to be found, appears to have influenced Dorsey considerably in making this assumption.

It is true that in their account of origins the Warrior clan speak of themselves as having sprung from the second of the birds mentioned in the origin myth of the Thunderbird clan and this statement permits us to infer that the other two clans bear a similar relationship to those four ancestral birds who, according to legend, alit on a tree near Red Banks. But this is, of course, merely a mythical account, and the data imbedded in the clan myths must be used with the greatest caution in so far as they can be expected to throw any light on early conditions of social organization.

All that we can say now is that the chief feast will have to be considered as belonging to all the four bird clans. But this is not to be interpreted to mean that an amalgamation of four historically distinct feasts has taken place, nor that, on the other hand, the four clans were originally subdivisions of one unit.

The Chief feast.—Informant, member of the Thunderbird clan:[1] The chief of the tribe is at the head of all the different bands and groups of people that exist among the Winnebago. As chief he has full charge of them. All the others are, so to say, his attendants and servants. When his people wish anything they go to him and ask him to obtain a blessing for them. Thus all the members of the tribe, the children as well as the mature men, go to him, and to help them the chief gives the feast known as the chief feast. He sacrifices to Earthmaker, and all who are present offer up some little gift in thankfulness, as this is a thing of supreme sacredness. All those who are present—the children, the women, the middle-aged, and the old men—in fact, whosoever attends the feast, see to it that they eat some of the food distributed.

As this feast is given in honor of their chief, all the members of the tribe, but most particularly the members of the Bird clan, prepare large offerings, so that there should be abundant food to eat. They bring all kinds of food—different kinds of meat, different kinds of vegetables, all manner of berries—in short, all sorts of edibles. These are to be offered to the spirits, and by means of these offerings they expect that their life will be filled with all that is good. It is to obtain these blessings that the feast is given.

When his people get sick, when it appears that an epidemic is likely, then the chief also gives the chief feast. It is for the purpose

[1] Unfortunately, it was not possible to obtain a full and detailed account of this feast. As in type, however, all the clan feasts are identical, this deficiency can be made up in part by comparing it with those feasts like the snake, bear, and buffalo that have been obtained in considerable detail.

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622 of stopping the spread of the sickness, whatever it may be, and for repairing the ravages caused thereby. For this the feasters pray "May our people recover and thrive," they say. "May they never get sick." Then they make all those present offer up tobacco. As [782] each one offers tobacco Earthmaker is aware of it and accepts. Thereby do we live and become strengthened. If Earthmaker smokes the tobacco offered him he will give life in return. The people offer tobacco that they may obtain life.

[614] They call the Thunderbird people chiefs, and it is from among 622 their ranks that they select the chief of the tribe.[1]

It is the duty of the chief to ward off all evils. This is one of their missions in life. They preach only what is good.

"Chief," they used to say to him, "try to do something for your people. Try to accomplish something difficult for them. Try to accomplish something difficult for your village. If you accomplish such a thing for the benefit of your people they will look up to you and respect you. Have pity on your people and love them. If a man is very poor, help him. Give him and his family food. Whatever they ask, give it to them. If your people get into trouble with one another, take your pipe and, walking in front, die for them, if necessary. From actions like these they will know that you are really their chief. There, in front of them, with your pipe in your hands, you will be lying on the ground, dead.

"If your people are about to sacrifice a dog and he gets loose and runs into your tent, you must let them have something in place of this dog for their feast. Do not let them kill the dog in your lodge. This would be sacrilegious. Grant the dog his life. Similarly, if an individual who has murdered a person escapes and takes refuge in your lodge, give him his life. Use all the wealth you have and give it to him, that he may employ it to make peace with the relatives of the person he has killed. Help these people who are in need. Do not think of your wealth. When that is gone you will get some more. Do your duty. Do not pass anyone unnoticed, not even a child. If people have come and asked you for something, do not let them go away without attempting to do something for them. You are a chief. Do some good for your people. In that way you will show that you are a chief. 'Our chief,' they will all call you. The children that see you will call you chief. Whoever talks to you will call you chief. If you are good to your people, they will show their respect by being bashful in your presence. If you are not good to them they will not think you a chief and they will not be bashful in your presence. So, at all times, do as a chief ought to do. Be good-natured to all the people and in this way you will show that

[1] What follows is a typical speech delivered by a member of the Thunderbird clan.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

you are indeed a chief. And then even the people of other tribes will say that such and such people have a good chief."

Informant, member of the Bear clan: The Indians always celebrated in summer. It was a season of rejoicing because the chief fed the tribe. It somewhat symbolized a mother bird feeding her young ones. The Thunderbird clan is in charge of the tribe, and when the chief feeds the tribe all rejoice and the standard is raised.

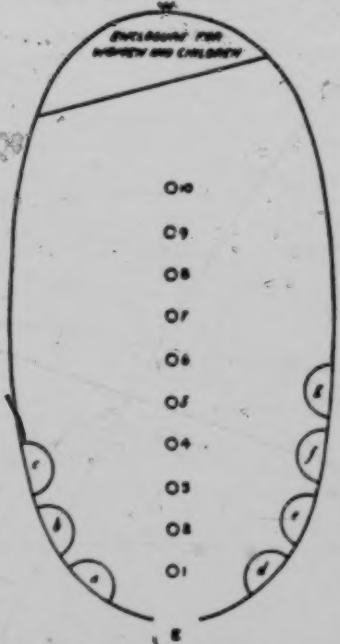

FIG. 36. Plan of Bear clan war-bundle feast as given by John Rave. a, Host. b, Relatives of host. c, Warrior clan. d, Wolf clan. e, Thunderbird clan. f, Eagle clan. g, Buffalo clan. 1, Burlskin for earthmaker. 2, Burlskin for turtle. 3, Burlskin for thunderbird. 4, Burlskin for sun. 5, Burlskin for moon. 6, Burlskin for morning star. 7, Burlskin for earth. 8, Burlskin for fire. 9, Burlskin for hawks. 10, Burlskin for night spirits.

THE BEAR CLAN FEAST (FIRST VERSION)

Two versions of the Bear clan feast (fig. 36) were obtained, fortunately both from a man and a woman. The feast was generally given during the month called *Hundjus'ra* (i. e., bear month), corresponding roughly to our January.

Informant, member of the clan (female): The host tells his sister's son, or, if he should not happen to have any, a member of the Wolf clan, to build a long lodge. This attendant then fills kettles either with blueberries or raspberries or any other fruit that the bears are fond of, and places them on the fireplace. Sometimes dried corn is also brought.

The participants enter the lodge at dusk. The host precedes the invited guests. In entering they proceed in a direction contrary to the hands of the clock. The host always sits at the southeast end of the lodge and the guests occupy seats next to him, proceeding from the southeast to the northwest.

When all are seated the host rises and addresses his guests as follows:

"Members of my clan who are seated here, I greet you all. To those from whom I have sprung I make these offerings of tobacco and this headdress (i. e., red feathers). I was told by my ancestors that if I did this I would obtain for myself, for my relatives, and for

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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a. PEYOTE LEADERS

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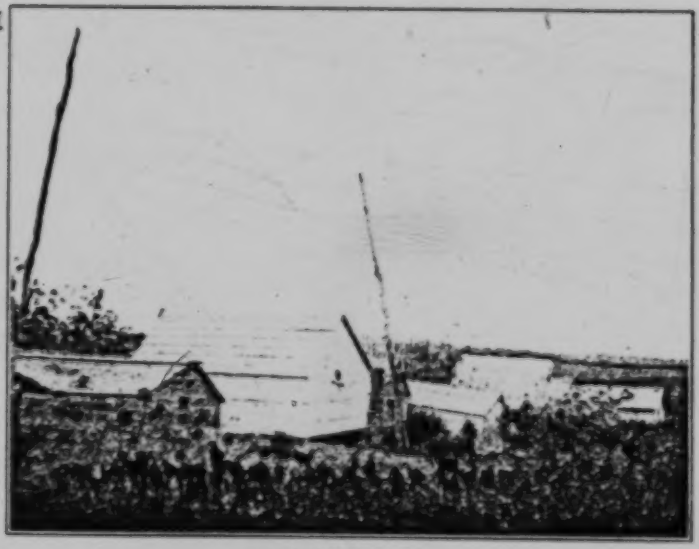

b. BURIAL HUTS

[Facing p. 388]

2: Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
NP12 Winnebago NP12

of these two types of arrangements quite difficult. There can be no question as to the existence of a twofold division of the tribe as far as marital regulations were concerned, nor as to the segregation of specific clans in definite villages. When on the warpath, the twofold division manifested itself in the arrangement of fire-places, so that the question to be resolved here is whether we can credit the statements that this twofold division expressed itself in the arrangement of the village, and, if it did, whether this was characteristic of the whole tribe or only of parts of the tribe. That this was true for part of the tribe, can be accepted. Whether it was true for the whole tribe, however, cannot be definitely answered until we know more of the Dhegiha and Tciwere. In the subsequent discussion of the clan, we will touch on this subject again.

The twofold organization is reflected in the arrangement of the fire-places when on the warpath, each division having two fire-places, whose location is determined by the direction in which the party is going. If they were going west, for instance, the two fire-places for the *waŋgeregi* would be on the south and the two for the *maŋegi* would be on the north side. On the other hand, when on the tribal move or hunting, no indication of the divisions exists.

As the basis of ceremonial organization, we find the twofold division present only once—at the Chief feast (*huŋk'wohq*), but as this feast is to all intents and purposes a feast given by the bird clans in general, there is really nothing surprising about its use. The name (*huŋk'wohq*) would seem to indicate that we are dealing simply with a feast of the Thunderbird clan, and this indeed may have been the case historically. *Huŋk'* to-day, however, is frequently used to indicate the *waŋgeregi* division.

As the basis of organization in a game the twofold division finds expression in ceremonial lacrosse. There the *waŋgeregi* are always pitted against the *maŋegi*. A well-known myth is associated with this arrangement, according to which the animal ancestors of the *waŋgeregi* and *maŋegi* decided their respective rank by playing a game where they were organized on this basis. The *waŋgeregi* won, and it is for this reason that the chiefs of the tribe have been selected from that division. The division of the

3:Michelson E-4 (no date)1935
NP12 Winnebago NP12

SOME NOTES ON WINNEBAGO SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION[1]

By TRUMAN MICHELSON

114 THE easily accessible accounts of Winnebago social organization are Morgan's Ancient Society,[2] J. O. Dorsey's Siouan Sociology,[3] the article *Winnebago* in the Handbook of American Indians, initialed by James Owen Dorsey and Paul Radin,[4] and Paul Radin's The Clan Organization of the Winnebago,[5] his Winnebago Tribe,[6] and lastly his The Social Organization of the Winnebago Indians, An Interpretation.[7]

None of these authors apparently were aware that a number of important statements on this and kindred topics are to be found in Caleb Atwater's Remarks made on a Tour to Prairie du Chien; thence to Washington City, in 1829.[8] I quote from this as follows.

614 [532] Carrymaunee (walking turtle) a Winnebago chief carries a large Tortoise, fully extended, and beautifully painted, perfect in all its limbs, on his back as he marches onward at the head of the turtle tribe. In the same manner, Snakeskin marches at the head of the snake tribe, with the skin of a large snake tied around his neck. In fine, every tribe has its standard bearer, with appropriate emblems (p. 87).

Their form of government is aristocratical, and the whole structure of their society is equally so. The Winnebagoes are divided into seven tribes, or bands, some of these are named after animals, such as the Turtle tribe, the Snake tribe, wolf tribe, &c., and others are named after inanimate things, as the Thunder 622 tribe. These tribes dwell in different places, in towns or villages; in each one of which, there are two Civil Chiefs, who govern that town—for instance Du Corri and Winneshiek are at the head of the government, of the Le Croix village situated near the Mississippi river, on its eastern bank, 80 miles north of Prairie Du Chien. So of all the other tribes, each one of which, has its town or seat of government, and is governed by its two civil chiefs. The civil government of the Winnebagoes, is in [623] the hands of fourteen civil Chiefs, and when they are assembled in one council, it is the grand national council.

[1] Printed by permission of the Smithsonian Institution.

[2] Page 157.

[3] Fifteenth Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology, pp. 240–41.

[4] Bulletin, Bureau of American Ethnology, 30, Pt. 2, pp. 958–61.

[5] American Anthropologist, Vol. 12, 1910, pp. 209–19.

[6] Thirty-seventh Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology, p. 181 *et seq.*

[7] Museum Bulletin, Canada Department of Mines, Geological Survey, No. 10 (Anthropological Series, No. 5).

[8] Published by Isaac N. Whiting, Columbus, Ohio, 1831. I have not seen the edition (of the same date) published by Jenkins and Glover. Atwater's The Indians of the Northwest, etc., Columbus, 1850, apparently has the same contents and pagination as his Remarks which I have seen. So we may presume that the 1831 edition (which I have not seen) of his The Indians of the Northwest is the same also. "The Writings of Caleb Atwater" (Columbus, 1833) has apparently disappeared from the Library of Congress. The proofsheets have been verified by consulting the 1850 edition, differences in capitalization being ignored.

3:Michelson E-4 (no date)1935

NP12 Winnebago NP12

In each village, the two civil chiefs, appoint all the officers, deemed necessary, civil and military, who obey them implicitly. There are two ways of arriving at these high stations, by birth and by election. When the father dies, if he has a son, who has arrived at the age of manhood, and who bids fair to make a good chief—that is, if he possesses a good form, has good bodily powers and mental faculties—is brave, sedate, wise and prudent, he generally succeeds his father in the government, on his father's demise. If the chief, at his death, leave no son who is qualified for the high office of chief, but wills it to some other person, he succeeds to the government. If the chief has no son at his death, it is commonly the case, that his brother's son succeeds him. The line of succession may run out for want of a lawful heir, which is always supplied by an election. It may be changed too, where the heir is unqualified for the station. Great deference is always paid to the will of the dying chief, but every such case is always laid before a full national council, whose decision is final (p. 97).

A chief may be degraded from his rank for bad conduct. . . .

There is in every tribe, what answers to a standing army among us. The profession of arms holds out, to the great mass of the common people, the only road to the temple of fame. . . . The young man, who aspires to the honorable distinction of a "brave" or warrior, must exhibit such traits of character, as are deemed necessary for a soldier to possess, before he can be admitted into the army. When admitted, he wears on his head just as many feathers of the bald eagle, as he has slain human beings, and the size of the feathers indicate the size of his victims. . . . If the warrior has taken a captive, he has a human hand as large as life, painted either on his face, or on some part of his body, or on his blanket, some individuals have several such hands painted upon them (p. 98).[1]

At the head of the army, belonging to each tribe, there is a person who occupies the same station as a General does with us, and he appoints all the inferior officers. The chiefs when met in council, call into it, their warriors, with whom they consult, but frequently they are called to receive the orders, which are obeyed to the letter. This council call before them, persons who are interested in the trial . . . (pp. 98, 99).

If the Senate of the United States is the mildest, the most patriotic and wisest legislative assembly in the civilized world, as it truly is, the Winnebago council, is decidedly at the head of the savage world. . . . The great body of the people have very little influence, almost none, with this council, and they never appear before it unless they are summoned to attend it.—They have no voice in electing the chiefs and in fact no political influence. The civil chiefs and the chief warriors, have in their hands, the whole government of the community, and they govern as they please. Disobedience to the orders of the rulers is punished with death, though, like the British nation, the Indians are not savages enough to cut the traitor into quarters after hanging him until he is dead (pp. 99, 100).

The female part of it, exercised the same influence among the women, that the chiefs did among the men, and the presents they expected from us, had to be better, than those given to the common people. The daughter of a chief, never mar-

[1] Quite different from the data given by Radin, The Winnebago Tribe, pp. 161, 162.

10:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1945
NP12 Winnebago NP12

adopted the specific shooting ritual today practiced in the Medicine Rite. 105

It is just this contrast between the manner in which the basic older structure remained intact and yet new elements were freely adopted that is so characteristic of the Winnebago civilization. The explanation for their ability to do both these things lies in the fact that, like the Iroquois and Navajo, they have always quickly transformed and reinterpreted the influences which they absorbed from the outside. We shall shortly see how the history and analysis of the Medicine Rite illustrates all these three tendencies, the marked conservatism of old patterns, the receptivity to new ideas and the capacity for making new integrations. Before turning to this history, it will be best, first, to give a brief sketch of the Winnebago civilization as a whole, particularly those phases of the social organization, religion, ritualism and mythology, which can throw light on the Medicine Rite.

2. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The Winnebago social organization contains two structural patterns characteristic of many North American Indian tribes, first, the division of the tribe into two halves and, second, the clan. Every clan belongs to either one or the other of these two halves or phratries, called respectively, those-from-above or upper people and those-from-the-earth or lower people. 105 614 616

The phratries possess, or rather possessed at one time, a number of distinctive and fundamental functions, lay and religious. Marriage within the same phratry, for instance, was forbidden. Each phratry had different burial customs. In the ceremonial lacrosse game one was always pitted against the other.

Nowhere were these contrasting duties and functions more fundamental, however, than in the political-social realm. In the upper phratry are centered, in the person of the tribal chief, all the peace and humanitarian functions of the tribe. He is selected from the clan generally regarded as the most important one in the tribe, the 105 614 616 622

105 thunderbird. He is the representative of peace, par excellence. He
614 cannot go to war or have anything to do with the many war cere-
616 monies of the tribe. Be it remembered that victory on the warpath is
622 the highest honor a Winnebago can attain. He must succour the needy and plead for clemency in all cases of infractions of tribal law and custom, even in case of murder. His lodge is a sacred asylum and
[778] absolutely inviolate. Not only is a prisoner of war safe if he manages to take refuge there, but even a dog, about to be sacrificed, must be spared, should he manage to run into it. Naturally all the other male members of the thunderbird clan as well as all the male members of the other clans in the upper phratry, go on the warpath and seek prestige through war. But, after all, this warfare is waged against people who have no status within the tribe. Acquiescence in it does not constitute approval of violence nor is it regarded as a resort to violence. And it is this condemnation of violence for which the tribal chief and his phratry stands.

105 In contrast to this is the attitude of the chief of the lower division,
614 who always belongs to the bear clan. In him are centered pre-
616 eminently the police, the disciplinary and the war functions. He and
622 his associates police and guard the village, inflict punishment for
625 transgressions of law and custom, take charge of the whole tribe when it is on a communal warpath or engaged in hunting, etc. It is in the official lodge of the bear chief that prisoners are confined before being killed and it is in the same lodge where the sacred warbundles are stored and guarded against contamination.

105 We are dealing here with a very old and persistent classification
616 of the two opposing forces in society and one which reflects the
622 answer to a question asked repeatedly, namely, how are we to meet
182 the two aspects of life and of reality with which we are being con-
577 tinually confronted, the protective, constructive and positive, and the repelling, destructive and negative? Winnebago thinkers seemed to have been particularly fond of posing this problem.

It is not strange then, that they should have felt the contrast between the functions of the two phratries to lie, fundamentally, in their attitude toward evil. For the tribal chief evil was to be warded off before it came and always by passive methods. If that did not

succeed and evil was already upon the tribe, then his attention was directed toward alleviating the suffering caused by it and toward preventing any violence that might come in its wake. His function was to be protective and constructive. As one Winnebago told me, 'The chief of the tribe is like a motherbird feeding its young ones.'

The chief of the lower division, by contrast, went out to meet evil, attacked it ferociously when encountered, and paid little attention to the violent mood it developed among the defender-assailants. The important thing was to attack, fight and gain the victory.

The two opposing approaches to the problem can best be illustrated by the attitudes of the two chiefs toward sickness and murder. The tribal chief meets the first by giving a feast of conciliation and making direct appeals to Earthmaker. The chief of the lower division, on the other hand, immediately starts in pursuit of it. With his assistants he makes the circuit of the village four times to look for its cause. He is on the warpath and should a dog cross his path, he is immediately killed. Then he pays a visit to the sick people, dances before them and lays his hands upon them.

If a murder has been committed, the tribal chief not only intercedes for the life of the murderer but actually, if need be, offers to take the place of the malefactor. The chief of the lower division, on the other hand, seizes the murderer and conducts him to the family of the murdered person to be punished.

The objects associated with the two chiefs are typical and symbolical of their activities. For the first it is the peace-pipe, the emblem of conciliation and humility; for the second, a curiously formed baton, the emblem of punishment and pain, with which, when need be, he strikes those who transgress.

The recognition of these two aspects of social life and reality, contradictory, colliding, complementary, had its counterpart in the Winnebago analysis of human nature. There too, they insisted, good and evil, the spiritual and the material, the sacred and the profane, seemed forever at strife and forever striving for reconciliation, neutralization or fusion. This philosophy, we shall now see, is reflected, particularly, in mythology, religion and ritualism.